

Stassen is Blocking the Elections ----- Write Him to Demand He Let You Vote!

As from  
this hour  
You use your  
power,  
The World  
must follow  
you

# THE INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZER

Official Organ of Motor Transport and Allied Workers Industrial Union Local 544-CIO  
MINNEAPOLIS OFFICE: 1328 SECOND STREET NORTH

VOL. 1, NO. 10

MINNEAPOLIS, MINN., THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 18, 1941

Stand all as  
one  
Till right  
is done!  
Believe and  
dare and do!

FIVE CENTS

## CIO Committee to Meet Stassen on Elections; Woll on Way Here to Extend Tobin AFL Purge

### Tobin, Woll and Sam Levy An Editorial

From 1924 to 1934 the Minneapolis Citizens Alliance was at the peak of its power in this city. The entire working-class population of Minneapolis groaned under the Open Shop lash of the vicious anti-labor Citizens Alliance. Wages were low, hours were long. The worker had no union to protect him on the job. His wife and his children suffered continuously from inadequate diet, poor housing, poor clothing, lack of medical care. Every revolt against the labor-haters was clubbed down by a police force taking its orders from the Citizens Alliance.

The names of Ocken and Schroeder and Strong and other Citizens Alliance chiefs were coupled with curses in the factories and eating places frequented by those who toil for a living. One of the most hated names of all was that of Sam Levy. "Sam Levy, attorney for the company"—"Sam Levy, legal representative of the Citizens Alliance"—you couldn't read of a broken strike in those days without finding Levy's name identified with the Citizens Alliance and the bosses.

In 1934 an earthquake hit Minneapolis. All the pent-up hatred of the workers for the bloody-handed Citizens Alliance exploded in the great general strike of that summer. With an irresistible power that would not be brooked the workers of Minneapolis gathered together and struck hammer-like blows at the vicious conspiracy of profit-mad exploiters who had held them in slavery for so many years. The powerful arm of organized labor lashed out and swept the Citizens Alliance from its position of dominance. The labor-haters were the object of the city's scorn and hatred. Their arrogance was no longer publicly displayed.

#### Citizen Alliance Retreated

Following their defeat in the 1934 strikes, the labor-haters held a meeting at the Nicollet Hotel. They analyzed the situation. They agreed to dissolve the Citizens Alliance and to set up a new employer "front," the Associated Industries, headed by George K. Belden. They planned to bide their time and wait until the union that had successfully challenged their power might be weakened.

The name of Sam Levy disappeared from the daily press. Other lawyers, not so well-known, not so hated, came forward to represent the bosses.

Years passed. Each year the employers would probe the armor of organized labor, and especially of its vanguard, Local 544. Each year the bosses would make a test to see if their hour had struck to take the offensive and re-establish their undisputed power. Pat Corcoran, secretary of the Teamsters Council, was assassinated. A fink suit against Local 544 was financed by the bosses. A company-union movement was launched. The Silver Shirts were encouraged to come here to organize a fascist movement aimed at attacking the unions and union leaders. But each year organized labor rallied to defeat these probing movements of the bosses.

#### Tobin Aids the Bosses

This year the Minneapolis bosses got the break they have waited for since 1934. DICTATOR DAN TOBIN HAS GIVEN THE EMPLOYERS THEIR OPENING. They have seized upon his criminal attack on Local 544-CIO, and with the aid of their political servants have struck heavy blows at the motor transport drivers of Minneapolis, and thus at the rest of the local labor movement.

Energetically the employers have seized upon this opportunity to entrench themselves. For one thing they have entered into a city-wide conspiracy to deny the workers' demand for decent wage increases to keep pace with the rising cost of living. There is ample evidence to show that Governor Stassen and his crooked labor conciliator are giving full support to this conspiracy.

The employers, while enjoying their swollen war profits, have decided that no union is to receive more than a 6c hourly wage increase. Tobin prepared the way for this position by ordering Casey to sell out the drivers' demand for SUBSTANTIAL WAGE INCREASES, and to accept the inadequate 6c raise. In industry after industry, the bosses are sticking by their conspiracy. When the CIO Machinists 1140 membership voted to demand wage increases of 18c hourly—not so all unreasonable in view of the swift rise in prices—the Electric Machinery Manufacturing company replied: 6c.

#### Sam Levy Again

The bosses are more and more brazenly putting forward the individuals most closely identified with the old Citizens Alliance in the days when it murderously repressed the workers. As union after union becomes in-

(Continued on page 4)

### Purge of AFL Here to Start Immediately

"Our committee headed by Mr. Mathew Woll will be in Minneapolis before the end of this week to start its investigation of the Central Labor Union," AFL President William Green told reporters Monday in St. Paul, where he stopped off to address the AFL Bakers International convention.

One month ago Dictator Tobin appeared before the AFL Executive Council meeting in Chicago to file charges against the Minneapolis Central Labor Union and demand a thorough purge of the AFL movement in this city.

At that time it was charged by Minneapolis unionists that Tobin was demanding a purge to alibi the failure of his "organizers" to crush Local 544-CIO.

When the AFL purge was announced last month, the INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZER predicted that the Woll Committee would not merely remove officers of the Central Labor Union, but would seek to purge every important AFL local in the city.

An assault on the rank and file of AFL Restaurant Workers Local 458 has already started with the appointment of A. J. Kilday as dictator over this local union.

It is known that many heated discussions have been held in the Central Labor Union on the coming purge, and that feeling against Tobin, Green and Woll is running high.

Because so many of the AFL unions here remain friendly to Local 544-CIO and support us in our fight against the hideous tactics of the Tobin machine, Tobin has induced the AFL leadership to send the Woll Committee here to try to ferret out and remove every progressive unionist and reorganize every AFL local that refuses to support Tobin and the degenerate AFL leadership.

(See our editorial: Tobin, Woll and Sam Levy.)

### CIO Drivers Forge Ahead In Michigan

(Special to Organizer)

DETROIT, MICH.—With the backing of the tremendous CIO movement throughout Michigan, the campaign of the CIO United Construction Drivers to organize the motor transport drivers here and throughout the state is meeting with great success.

The customary goon tactics of Tobin and the AFL are failing completely to stem the tide of drivers who are flowing into the CIO. In many centers the mere announcement from the United Auto Workers Union that it stands prepared to defend the drivers against any gangster assaults from Tobin has served to cause the Tobin hopheads and thugs to shrink back in the shadows.

The Tobin machine is losing ground steadily in all parts of the state. Within a short time there will be no AFL drivers in any of the major towns and cities throughout the state.

CIO drive-away men and over-road drivers report that the success of the Michigan drivers in breaking away from Tobin's dictatorship and joining the progressive industrial union movement is having a sensational effect on drivers in neighboring states. Drivers throughout the Middle Western states are following the Michigan campaign closely, and progressive groups are forming in scores of Tobin local to prepare the ground for a switch to the CIO.

### Mediators Enter Strike Of CIO 1140

The 350 members of the CIO Electrical Workers Local 1140 continued their strike at the Electric Machinery Manufacturing company, as the federal government sent in three mediators from Washington to meet with representatives of the union and the company.

Despite heavy pressure on the union to return to work, the strikers are hanging tough until their demand for a substantial wage increase is met. The company's offer of a 6c hourly increase is met with contempt. Skeleton picket crews are maintained at the company's two plants. The company has made no attempt to operate.

The strike was called September 9th after unsuccessful efforts of these workers to obtain their reasonable demand for adequate wage increases to meet the rising cost of living. A commission appointed by Governor Stassen to investigate the dispute had proposed a settlement that was even poorer than that made by the company in a counter-proposal to the union's demands.

### Support Spreads for Local 544-CIO



A large sign expressing support of Minneapolis Local 544-CIO was carried in the Labor Day Parade in St. Louis by the powerful St. Louis CIO Warehouse Workers Union. Above are shown members of the union displaying the banner, signaling their solidarity with the Minneapolis drivers and allied workers.

The St. Louis CIO Industrial Council has adopted a strong resolution calling for financial aid to 544-CIO in its fight for democratic industrial unionism, and denouncing the use of the FBI to harass and oppress organized labor.

### Committee from 544-CIO Will Press Governor to Order Elections

A committee from Local 544-CIO will meet Governor Harold Stassen at the state capitol Saturday morning to press the demand of the motor transport drivers that the governor order his State Labor Conciliator to grant the union's petition for democratic elections.

Ninety days have elapsed since Local 544-CIO filed its petitions for elections with the Labor Conciliator. Hundreds of rank-and-file drivers appeared before the Blair hearings to tell of the hoodlum tactics of the Tobin hopheads, to express their loyalty to Local 544-CIO, and to demand that democratic elections be granted. The Local 544-CIO committee will ask the governor Saturday to explain the unprecedented delay in granting the drivers their democratic right to an election.

#### Thousands Write Stassen

By Monday noon this week over 2,100 individuals had notified Local 544-CIO they have sent letters, postcards or telegrams to Stassen demanding he order his State Labor Conciliator to grant the 544-CIO petitions for elections. The majority of the writers are motor transport drivers and allied workers. Several hundred members of other unions, AFL and CIO, have also written to the governor they endorse 544-CIO's demand for elections.

#### Union Sections Meet

Well-attended section meetings of the wholesale grocery workers, the coal men and the furniture men were held in the 544-CIO hall last Friday and Monday evenings.

Without exception, the drivers and allied workers denounced the Casy sell-out contracts and said they would refuse to be bound by them. Each section reaffirmed its insistence that the only solution to the struggle with the Tobin machine is through democratic elections.

### Furniture Men Blast Blair Action

The retail furniture store employees met Monday night at Local 544-CIO's headquarters, and vigorously condemned State Labor Conciliator Blair for his aid to the AFL in obtaining a contract with the employers behind the backs of the employees.

Blair's action in dismissing the CIO election petition in this industry, the employees contend, was based on a threadbare technicality and does not change the fact that a majority of these workers are members of the CIO. Nor does this unfair action by Blair in dismissing 544-CIO's petition provide any legitimate grounds for Blair to connive with the AFL and the employers to deny the employees their legal right to an election to select their bargaining agent.

Acting through Local 544-CIO the furniture store employees have petitioned the National Labor Relations Board for a collective bargaining election. These men refuse to be bound by the contract which Blair, the employers and the AFL are trying to force upon them.

#### Court Review Sought

This latest perversion of the powers and duties of the State Labor Conciliator's office comes at a time and in a circumstance where Local 544-CIO is seeking a court review of Blair's conduct and decisions. Local 544-CIO will take all possible steps through such a court review to guarantee the employees their legal and democratic rights.

## American Civil Liberties Union Blasts Federal Indictment of 29

Tells Biddle That National Administration Is Using Law Improperly As Favor to Tobin—Charges Indictment Is Based on Statutes Which Are Unconstitutional—Will Engage in Defense, Carry Case to Supreme Court If Necessary

Below is the letter written by the American Civil Liberties Union, 22-year-old organization devoted to the defense of civil liberties in America, to Attorney General Francis Biddle, setting forth the conclusions of the Civil Liberties Union on the federal indictment manipulated by AFL Teamsters President Tobin and by President Roosevelt against 16 leaders and active members of Local 544-CIO and 13 leaders of the Socialist Workers Party.

Attorney General Biddle has announced that, in spite of the findings of the ACLU, the government will go ahead with its prosecution of the 29.

The text of the letter to Biddle follows:

Hon. Francis Biddle  
Acting Attorney-General  
Department of Justice  
Washington, D. C.  
Dear Mr. Attorney-General:

The indictment of twenty-nine persons in Minneapolis, allegedly members of the Socialist Workers Party, raises important issues of civil liberty. The indictments charge a conspiracy to (1) overthrow the United States government by force and violence; (2) spread disaffection among the armed forces; (3) engage in private military training with arms for the purpose of overthrowing the government.

All of the charges in the indictment except one deal with utterances or publications whose intent is construed to constitute the offenses. The only overt act charged is the formation of a workers defense corps by members of the Teamsters Union in Minneapolis in 1938.

#### Findings of ACLU

The American Civil Liberties Union has examined the character of the evidence on which the indictment rests and has come to these conclusions:

1. That the charges clearly raise issues of civil liberties in attacking utterances or publications in the absence of any overt acts or even of any "clear and present danger" with the sole exception of the charge concerning the organization of the workers defense corps.

2. That the facts in regard to the workers defense corps show that there was no intent of the Teamsters Union, which was admittedly under the leadership of members of the Socialist Workers Party, to do more than protect union property against threats of vigilante violence. Its activities were entirely public and covered only the few months when apprehension of attack was acute.

3. That the indictments rest upon two new stat-

utes not previously applied, both of them having been incorporated in the Alien Registration Act of 1940—one of them penalizing advocacy of the overthrow of government by force, and the other the incitement of disaffection in the armed forces. In our judgment both statutes violate the First Amendment of the Constitution; and even if upheld could not be applied to this set of facts under the "clear and present danger" rule.

#### Will Defend 29

In the light of these considerations it is obviously mandatory on the Civil Liberties Union to engage in the defense with a view to testing in the Supreme Court, if necessary, the constitutionality of the laws and their application to this set of facts.

But quite aside from the legal questions, we desire to call the government's attention to a series of circumstances which appear to indicate a gross impropriety on the part of government officials in securing the indictment.

#### Behind the Indictment

It appears that on June 13th Daniel Tobin, president of the International Teamsters Union, telegraphed the President from Indianapolis appealing for federal action against the Truck Drivers Union, Local 544 in Minneapolis, sixteen of whose members are included in the indictment. Mr. Tobin's action followed a long controversy with the local, in part resting upon the union's disagreement with Mr. Tobin as to national policy in relation to the war. Mr. Tobin supported the President, and the local opposed the administration's foreign policies. This led to a request by Mr. Tobin for the appointment of a representative to take over the local's affairs with power to expel any member. Naturally the local rejected it. The result was that on June 9 the 4,000 members of the union, by an almost unanimous vote, decided to disaffiliate from the Teamsters Union and to join the CIO.

Mr. Tobin's telegram said in part: "The withdrawal from the International Union by the truck drivers union Local 544 and the other small union in Minneapolis, and their affiliation with the CIO is indeed a regrettable and dangerous condition. The officers of this local union . . . were requested to disassociate themselves from the radical Trotsky organization . . . we feel that while our country is in a dangerous position, those disturbers who believe in the policies of foreign, radical governments, must be

(Continued on page 2)

We Made Minneapolis a Union Town - - - Let's KEEP IT That Way



# CIO Sister Unions 'Say It With Funds' In Aiding 544-CIO

CIO Unions from 38 States Contribute to Fight for Union Democracy — Warm in Praise of 544-CIO

A stream of financial contributions from CIO sister unions throughout the nation continued to flow into Local 544-CIO this week, providing the sinews of war in the fight for democratic industrial unionism, and demonstrating the backing the entire CIO is giving the Minneapolis drivers.

The UAWOC Local 141 of Hazelton, Pa., sends \$10 and greetings from the members and officers.

Contributions were received from the United Mine Workers District 50, Local 12145 of Paulsboro, New Jersey, and from the CIO Industrial Union Council of Eau Claire, Wisconsin.

"We enclose a check for \$10 as a donation to your organization in its courageous fight against the AFL Teamsters," writes Dan Adair, secretary of the CIO Council at Olympia, Washington. "We are a small council with about 3,000 affiliated members and cannot send more now. But we are for you 100 per cent and are keeping in touch with your progress."

**Check from Seattle**

"We are enclosing a check for \$10 to aid in your fight. This check is the result of a popular subscription taken at our last regular membership meeting. We, the membership of Local 42, have been following with interest your struggle against the AFL bureaucracy as exemplified by Tobin. All of us are wishing you success in your struggle against Tobin and his goons, as we realize a victory for 544-CIO is a step forward for the entire labor movement."—UCWOC Local 42, Seattle, Washington.

"Enclosed is our check for \$10, with our best wishes," writes Sec. R. A. Johnson of the Richmond, Va., Local 27, CIO Dyers Federation.

"We are enclosing our check for \$25. On August 29th a copy of your appeal, with a letter from this office urging support, was sent to our local unions. All success to Local 544."—John C. Lawson, Int. Sec.-Treas., CIO United Stone Workers.

A check for ten dollars has been received from the CIO Lumber and Sawmill Workers of Bend, Oregon. A check for \$10 has also been received from UCWOC Local 197 of Mt. Union, Pennsylvania. Local 12250 of UMW District 50 writes a nice letter enclosing a check, saying "Our local is very young and hardly out of its swaddling clothes. We are in no position to make a really worthwhile contribution to this noble cause, but the members made up a small free will offering which I am herewith forwarding you. We all hope you win this battle with the forces of ignorance and greed."

The UCWOC Local 108 at Portland, Oregon, sends a check and a nice letter. Local 201 of the CIO International Fur Workers in Wilmington, Del., writes that "Understanding the need for labor solidarity in this instance, we voted an endorsement of the position of Local 544, and as well we voted a contribution of \$10 to that local."

Checks have been received from the United Furniture Workers Local 155 of South Bend, Indiana, and from the Quarry Workers International Local at Junction City, Ohio. The Kansas City Industrial Union Council sends \$25. The Connecticut State Industrial Union Council writes it is sending our appeal for funds to all local CIO unions in the state. The SWOC Local 1976 of Kansas City, Kansas, sends a contribution, with best wishes for the victory of Local 544-CIO.

**\$25 from Oil Workers**

"Enclosed find check for \$25 to aid the drivers of Local 544-CIO. Local 348, Oil Workers International Union of Kansas City, wishes to express their sympathy for these brothers, as we too have had some trouble with the AFL here in Kansas City. We all hope for an early CIO victory."—J. M. Sappenfield, Sec.-Treas.

"Enclosed please find a check for ten dollars. You have our best wishes and our moral support."—Merton Frow, Sec., International Longshoremen's Union, North Bend, Oregon.

Ten dollars has been received from a sister union, UCWOC Local 139 of South Bend, Indiana. The Drug & Chemical Workers Local 13009 of St. Louis also sends a donation.

**\$50 From Oregon**

"Enclosed is a check for \$50 for the assistance of the membership of Local 544. We sincerely hope that you will be successful in liberating these workers from the on-tangling meshes of the AFL. We

woodworkers know to what lengths the leadership of the AFL will go in order to hold its stranglehold over the workers."—J. E. Laux, Plywood & Veneer Workers Union Local 9-213, Willamina, Oregon.

**The Steel Workers Organizing Committee of Pittsburgh, Pa.,**

sends a check for \$100.

"The delegates to this council wish to say to each and every member of your organization that we pledge to you full cooperation and support. Be strong and stand firm and victory is sure to be yours."—Letter accompanying a check, from Industrial Union Council of Grundy, Virginia.

**California Backs Us**

"Enclosed is a check for \$11.35 which is our small yet earnest collection for your Local."—Robert Blikens, Rec. Sec., UCWOC Local 88, Concord, California.

**Civil Liberties Union**

**Blasts Indictment of 29**

(Continued from page 1)

in some way prevented from pursuing this dangerous course . . .

**What White House Said**

Stephen Early, the President's secretary, immediately issued the following statement from the White House: "Mr. Tobin telegraphed from Indianapolis that it is apparent to him and to the other executives of his organization that because they have been and will continue to stand squarely behind the government, all subversive organizations and all enemies of our government, including Bundists, Trotskyists and Stalinists are opposed to them and seeking to destroy loyal trade unions which are defending democracy."

"Mr. Tobin goes into considerable detail and states that he is going to issue a statement from the Indianapolis office of the teamsters union. When I advised the President of Tobin's representations this morning, he asked me to immediately have the government departments and agencies interested in this matter notified, and to point out that this is no time, in his opinion, for labor unions, local or national, to begin raiding one another for the purpose of getting memberships or for similar reasons."

**Tobin Asks, Roosevelt Gives**

It is reasonable to conclude that the action thereafter taken by the government arose from the President's reaction to Mr. Tobin's request. The government's attitude was expressed in a statement from the Attorney-General's office to the effect that "the principal Socialist Workers Party leaders, against whom prosecution is being brought, are also leaders of Local 544-CIO in Minneapolis . . . who have been engaged in criminal seditious activities . . . and have gained control of a legitimate labor union to use it for illegitimate purposes."

**Is Abuse of Law**

It may be argued that Mr. Tobin merely called the government's attention to a situation which in itself warranted federal action. But it seems more reasonable to conclude that the government injected itself into an inter-union controversy in order to promote the interests of the one side which supported the administration's foreign and domestic policies. In our judgment, this is a highly improper use of the criminal law. Our conclusion is reinforced by the fact that it has been a matter of common knowledge for some years that the Socialist Workers Party, an insignificant little group of extremists, has been strongly represented in the Minneapolis labor movement—alone of any city in the country. Nothing charged in the indictment is of recent origin. The situation in Minneapolis is no different now from that obtaining over the past five or ten years.

In the light of these facts, we urge a reconsideration by the Department of Justice of this prosecution with a view to its dismissal.

**THE AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION**

By: Dr. John Haynes Holmes, Chairman of Board

Roger Baldwin, Director

Arthur Garfield Hays, General Counsel

**If You Play Dead—**

Here's a hot one. The AFL announced recently it was launching a new nationwide organizing campaign—only at the same time it was urging all workers to ban strikes.

Yes, that's just the way the AFL papers put it: AFL MAPS VAST ORGANIZING DRIVE—WORKERS URGED TO BAN STRIKES.

The bosses haven't much to fear, nor the workers much to hope, from THAT drive.

Why should a boss give anything to a workers' organization, knowing in advance that the union will be tied hand and foot by the AFL bureaucracy, and prevented from defending itself against the boss or taking the offensive against the boss in a campaign for higher wages?

The boss organizations and the government are working with might and main to outlaw strikes. The AFL "statesmen"—and Tobin is a prime example—meet the challenge by seeking to compel the unions to accept compulsory arbitration. These bureaucrats think that if labor rolls over and plays dead it can fool the enemy. They don't realize that if you play dead long enough, you ARE dead.

## World War Debt Is Doubled, Still Going Up

Piling up at the rate of \$277.50 a second, the federal debt went over the \$50,000,000 mark last Wednesday, or almost double the \$25,536,648 reached in the First World War.

Since July 1, 1941, the debt has increased about \$1,040,000,000. The present debt amounts to \$376.97 per capita. If the new debt was transferred into one-dollar bills, they would make a stack over five miles high. The government anticipates the debt will rise another \$15 billion in the next year, to pass the present debt limit of \$65 billion.

The tens of billions being spent for the boss war machine could buy a lot of warm clothing, good houses and healthful food for the American people. But there wouldn't be so much profit in it for the bankers and industrialists and the grafting politicians.

## AFL Bureaucrats Call Cops on Negro Unionist

The reactionary spectacle of Dictator Tobin and his agents calling on the cops and the FBI to aid them in fighting the Minneapolis drivers, is nothing new for the AFL craft-union bureaucracy. Down in Florida the AFL Brotherhood of Maintenance-of-Way Employees has unleashed a vicious campaign of slander and intimidation against the United Transport Service Employees of America which is bringing the benefits of unionism to the untouched layers of Negro railroad workers whom the Jim Crow AFL unions refuse to organize.

The AFL bureaucrats have gone so far in their hysteria at the success of the Negro union that they have brought about the arrest of Nebraska Jones, leading colored trade unionist. Jones was taken into custody by the police of Okaloosa, Florida, while en route to a union meeting and held for questioning.

Upon his release, Jones declared "It is an age-old custom of many AFL unions faced with defeat, to spread false propaganda and to use public officials to pull their chestnuts out of the fire. This (AFL) group does not want to face the truth. Their only desire is to prevent the Negro worker from organizing and securing the rights guaranteed him as an employee in the railway industry."

If there are still any citizens interested in protecting liberty, let them study the conspiracy laws of the United States. They have grown apace in the last forty years until today no one's liberty is safe. The conspiracy laws magnify misdemeanors into serious felonies. If a boy should steal a dime, a small fine should cover the offense; he could not be sent to the penitentiary. But if two boys in agreement steal a dime, then both of them could be sent to the penitentiary as conspirators. Not only could they be, but boys are constantly being sent under similar conditions.

These conspiracy laws, made by the court, have gone so far that they can never be changed except through a general protest by liberty-loving men and women; if any such there be, against the spirit of tyranny that has battered down the ordinary safeguards that laws and institutions have made to protect individual rights. In that event, these laws will be stripped away by courts through sophistry and tyranny, as they have always been destroyed. Liberty cannot prevail unless the feeling is in the heart of the people; and wealth, and the hope of it, have taken this away. —CLARENCE OARROW, STORY OF MY LIFE.

A Hollywood writer with a reputation as a Lethario tried to refuse when a witty hostess invited him to a party, pleading that he was in the midst of an important project.

"Oh, that's all right," the hostess answered, "just bring your work with you. We'd love to have her, too."

One of the godfathers at a Hollywood christening party became nervous just before the ceremony began. "What if they give me the baby to hold?" he inquired anxiously.

"Don't worry," Walter Pidgeon answered soothingly. "Same grip as a cocktail shaker."

"Make love to every woman you meet," my uncle advised me. "If you get even five percent on your outlay, it's a good investment." —ARNOLD BENNETT, JOURNAL.

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# Dictatorship in the Army Is Resented by Draftees

Soldiers Dissatisfied with Officers — Answer Is Government-Financed, Union-Controlled Officers' Training Camps

Below is the second and concluding article dealing with the draftees' morale in the nation's army camps:

## Draftees Not Fooled

The draftee army does not believe they are going into a war to save democracy. They know they are being pushed into a war which is for colonies and for markets.

They know that within the army itself, there is no democracy. Soldiers are completely under the control of their officers, without any recourse or appeal. They obey orders or else. They have no opportunity to rise in the ranks—except in one notable manner. In a letter from the above quoted draftee, this one manner was graphically explained to a regiment of soldiers who were being given a lecture on the history of their outfit. It had been decided that the low morale of the troop could be bolstered up if the men had a little pride in the tradition of their unit. The officer told the story of the unit's history up through the world war. At one point, describing a battle he said—

"Do you realize that in this particular battle more than half of our men were killed! What a wonderful opportunity for advancement. Some of you, under similar circumstances may have been promoted from privates to squad leaders."

Pearson and Allen, in the same article quoted above, comment on the difference in the morale of the French Army and that of the Russians.

**Russia Surprises World**

"In France, battalions, companies, entire regiments, surrendered en masse. The world was astounded. The French Army had been heralded as the best in the world. Its officers had been trained for years. Its equipment, while not as good as the Nazis, was the next best in Europe."

"Yet the French Army collapsed in eleven short days."

One year later an entirely different story comes from Russia.

"This huge, unwieldy, green army, facing the pick of Hitler's mechanized veterans, has retreated, but not surrendered. At times, isolated and hopelessly cut off, Russian troops have continued to fight—fighting so desperately that the Germans have complained that they do not obey the rules of war."

"OBVIOUSLY RUSSIAN TROOPS HAVE BEEN DEFENDING SOMETHING WHICH

ed by their members were told that the area committee would write the contract and the members back home would 'learn to like it'."

This threatening dictatorship in the International Union was sufficient reason; but there are other reasons . . . Even while the drivers were affiliated with the (AFL) Trades and Labor Assembly which is hostile to the CIO they got as much or more cooperation from the CIO unions as from the AFL unions. With the increasing unfriendliness shown by other AFL unions it was natural that the drivers should prefer to be affiliated with the larger and more powerful unions of the CIO.

**WORKING PEOPLE WILL UNDERSTAND THAT A UNION WILL NOT LONG REMAIN A UNION WHEN THE DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS OF ITS MEMBERS ARE DENIED. WHEN THAT HAPPENS THE ORGANIZATION WILL SOON DEGENERATE INTO A DUES COLLECTING RACKET WITHOUT BENEFITS FOR ITS MEMBERS.**

We are confident that all the CIO members and even many of the AFL members will support us in our fight against Mr. Tobin's dictatorship. Again we say—we will keep Hitler out of Ottumwa.

**HOW WEALTH IS MADE**  
When Napoleon fled to Elba, he took with him something that he purposely did not bring back—a fortune of 400 million gold francs, or \$80,000,000 at par—that to this day, thanks to bankers, has remained intact. The bulk of this fortune (sweated out of the French people) belongs to a young man in exile at Brussels, known as "His Imperial Highness, Prince Napoleon."—WYTHE WILLIAMS, in SCRIBNERS, April, 1936.

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Pearson and Allen appear surprised that the badly equipped, poorly led, green Russian troops have been able to stem the tide of the Nazi mechanized units. But Pearson and Allen put their fingers on the reason for the Russian troops have been able to do that—they are defending something which they cherish. Their nationalized property, their freedom from capitalist exploitation, their free future in a socialist world—which is still a living reality in spite of all that Stalin has done to take away the revolutionary conquests of the people. The Russian workers and peasants who make up the army know that they will and can wrest back into their own hands the power to achieve real socialism.

On the other hand the French workers and peasants who were drafted into the French Army felt that they were fighting and dying only for the French Steel Trust and the 200 ruling families of France.

If Roosevelt and his War Department succeed in getting into shape an army which is well trained and disciplined, it will be only by means of terrorism and intimidation.

**10-Year Sentence**  
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The Habinak case caused so much furor that the war department hurriedly reduced his sentence to three years and six months.

Some time ago a Negro private was shot and killed on a bus returning from leave at Fort Bragg, N. C. Private Ned Turner entered the bus which was to take a load of colored soldiers back to their Jim Crow quarters at the camp. The driver refused to start, claiming that some of the men were disorderly. Military Police finally arrived, after the driver had argued with the men for some time. One of the MP's ordered the men to shut up, and when Private Mack C. Poole continued to talk, the MP began to beat him over the head with a club. Turner spoke up, demanding that the injured man be taken to the hospital.

The MP shouted "Hospital, hell. I'm going to take him to jail."

Turner insisted that the injured man be cared for. His insistence was "talking back" and in the cop's mind, this is unpardonable—a Negro daring to "sass" a white man.

Hargraves, the MP, struck at Turner who raised his arm above his head, in self defense.

That was too much for Hargraves. He began to club the Negro over the head. Several other MP's came into the bus and began to beat the poor Negro.

Suddenly it was all too much for Turner. Snatching Hargraves' gun from his pocket he shouted—"I'm going to break up you MP's beating us colored soldiers."

Those were Ned Turner's last words. He began shooting. When the pistol was empty Hargraves lay dead, and two other MP's were wounded.

Another MP, entering the bus from the back, killed Turner.

That night horror reigned in the Jim Crow quarters of the camp. 5,000 colored troops, stationed at

Fort Bragg, were rounded up, beaten, cursed, and driven on foot to another camp nine miles away.

**Many in Guardhouse**  
Several weeks ago there was another incident in a southern camp. 250 men were incarcerated in the guard house. A riot broke out among them, and when the guards had quelled the riot, one boy lay dead.

When the youth's father, notified of his death, came to claim the body, he was told that his son had died as the result of an accident on the rifle range. When he learned the truth and demanded to know why the hospital attendants had lied to him he was told that "the hospital attendants don't always know how the men are wounded or killed."

There are a great many descriptions. One man I know from Kentucky left word with his friend that it would take twenty-five guys to catch him . . .

The soldiers in the draftee army are dissatisfied with the inadequacy of the training which they are receiving; they hate and distrust most of the officers who rule them; they recognize that they are going to have to fight in a war, and they don't like the purpose of that war.

An army directed and ruled by capitalist officers can never lead our army against fascism—at home or abroad. Yet it is an indisputable fact that the worker and farmer soldiers are going to have to fight fascism. The only way they can fight and win against it is with arms in hand.

And to fight with arms in hand means that these soldiers must be trained. We must have an army—an army to fight for the workers and farmers, for their lives, their liberties.

It is possible only, however, if military training is given to our army through trade union control and if the officers which command that army come from the workers themselves, trained in special officers training camps, paid for by the government, but operated under trade union control.

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# The AFL's Decline and the Rise of the CIO

## AFL Refused to Keep Pace with Industrial Organization of Industry, Turned Its Back on Workers in Basic Industries—Degeneration of AFL Made Necessary New Union Movement

Had the American Federation of Labor met the needs and aspirations of the workers of this nation, the CIO would never have come into existence. The mighty movement of the CIO, six million strong, is living proof of the fact that the AFL turned its back upon and betrayed the interests of the American toilers.

Beginning in this issue, the INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZER presents a brief history of the rise and decline of the American Federation of Labor, and of the dramatic growth of the CIO, the most powerful union movement in the world today.

### I.

#### The Rise of the AFL

The American Federation of Labor was formed sixty years ago, in 1881, at a time when the industrial revolution was just beginning in the United States. There were as yet no great mass production industries as we know them today. Shops were small and far between. An average shop would employ thirty workers. Each shop employed one kind of tradesman only, as a rule.

From its beginning, the AFL organized the workers along craft lines, paralleling the organization of industry in that day.

A craft union is a union having jurisdiction over the workers of a particular craft or trade and over only those workers. Examples of craft unions are the Carpenters, the Cigar Makers, the Operating Engineers, the Bricklayers, the Boilermakers, etc.

#### American Industry Expands

Gradually, the employers piled up more and more wealth, and combined their capital and factories into larger industrial units. At the turn of the present century, great billion-dollar trusts, such as the giant United States Steel Corporation, began to take shape. While factories grew larger, the number of establishments began to grow smaller. In thirteen of the most important industries, there were 19,349 establishments in 1870; 18,405 in 1880; only 11,193 in 1900. This trustification has since grown enormously, making headway even against the mass tide of immigration which helped to double the population from 1880 to 1900.

With its great expansion of industry and profits, American industry began to embark on the first steps toward its career of imperialism, to export first commodities, then machinery, and finally capital itself. This tendency led to the Spanish-American War of 1898, to America's participation in the First World War, and will drive the United States into the Second World War now raging.

To successfully compete in foreign markets, the American owners of industry had to keep down labor costs. This called for a more intensely belligerent attitude towards the union movement, marked in the early 1900's by the rapid growth of employers' associations.

These are just a few of the

changes that have transpired in industry since the early days of the American trade union movement. Others followed. During this century, the introduction of machinery and automatic machinery, of the belt-line system, has to an increasing extent done away with skill, not only in the mass production industries, but even to a large extent in the industries where craftsmen once predominated.

The world of 1941 bears but slight resemblance to the world of 1881. But the AFL, sixty years after it was founded, is STILL living in the world of yesterday, in the days of the horse-and-buggy, the bustle, and the village blacksmith shop. This, in a word, is what is wrong with the American Federation of Labor and why it is doomed to perish.

#### The AFL Resists Change

As early as 1900 progressive workers in the AFL clearly discerned the trend of industry, and in that year introduced a resolution calling upon the AFL convention to adopt an industrial union form of organization.

An industrial union is a union having jurisdiction over ALL the workers in a plant or industry, no matter what the skill of each worker. One plant, one industry, one union.

The 1900 convention of the AFL rejected the resolution calling for industrial unionism. Twelve years later a similar resolution was voted down by a two-thirds majority. Again in 1919, 1922, 1923, 1924, 1929, the AFL, with its eyes turned to the past, refused to adopt the ONLY form of unionism that could hope to challenge the industrial might of the great American corporations.

When an organization refuses to keep pace with the times, refuses to go forward, that organization inevitably goes backward. That is what has been happening for decades to the AFL. It has degenerated, in all directions, from the honest, democratic and progressive organization it was in the 1880's.

Under the craft union system, with the workers divided up instead of united, one craft union scabbed against another. Such union scabbing is inevitable under craft unionism, where the various unions in a shop or industry have agreements with the same employer, but expiring at different dates, so that if one craft strikes, the others cannot, on the excuse they are bound to the job by their contracts.

Another of the poisonous fruits of craft unionism is the jurisdictional dispute, in which the craft unions battle each other in order to steal jobs and members from each other.

The longer the craft unions continued, the less became their effectiveness. Dry rot set in. Union bureaucrats, with a contempt for the workers, consolidated their

dictatorial control of the union movement, and denied democracy to the membership. Conventions became less and less frequent. The salaries of the bureaucrats rose, and their vision became narrower. Dues and initiation fees became higher.

The AFL split the ranks of the workers, left the vast majority of them unorganized and at the mercy of the employers.

The doddering old AFL machine staggered through the years, never having more than 7 per cent of the organized workers on its membership rolls, and often having less than 5 per cent. In the spring of 1933 the AFL had a trifling over two million members of the 40,000,000 organized workers in America. Then came Roosevelt and the "New Deal."

#### The Workers Begin to Move

"The New Deal needed organized labor to save big business," Benjamin Stolberg correctly explains in his book, "The Story of the CIO."

"Three months after Roosevelt came to power, the NRA was set up. The NRA was essentially a price-fixing mechanism to enable big business to regain the control of scarcity which it had lost in the excitement of the boom. But this price-fixing mechanism was useless unless it could be effectively enforced, unless the cheating and chiseling among the industrialists could be kept down to a minimum, and unless wages could be kept up to support the buying power of the masses. That's where organized labor was to come in. It was to police, through collective bargaining, the 'social planning'..."

Under the impulse of Section 7A of the NRA, the first wave of workers came into the established AFL unions outside the basic industries. Then the mass production workers began to stir. Between 1933 and 1935 the few industrial and semi-industrial unions of the AFL grew by 132 per cent, while the many AFL craft unions grew by only 13 per cent.

Even before the workers in the nation's basic industries were organized, the AFL craft union bureaucrats began to press demands for their jurisdictional rights in the big plants they had never seriously sought to organize.

The AFL leaders had no desire to organize the unskilled and semi-skilled millions in the nation's heavy industries. But the AFL skateside didn't want anyone else to organize the skilled workers.

The whole of American labor, organized and unorganized, was in a turmoil. The workers in the basic industries whom the AFL craft unions had never been able to organize, were clamoring for organization, and DEMANDING INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM.

Powerful union leaders within the AFL, such as John L. Lewis, Hillman and Dubinsky, themselves leaders of industrial unions, began to lead the opposition movement to the doddering craft unionists. The conflict broke into the open at the 1934 convention of the AFL in San Francisco, where resolutions for industrial unionism were introduced from all over the floor.

(Continued Next Week)

## Dollar Shrinks 15 Cents During Year, U. S. Admits

Now the U. S. Department of Labor has come out with statistical proof to substantiate Local 544-CIO's charge that Tobin and Casey tried to sell out the Minneapolis drivers and allied workers by agreeing to the puny 6c hourly wage increase in the two-year contracts signed by Sellout Casey.

According to the Department of Labor, the buying power of the dollar has shrunk 12½¢ in the past year; IN INDUSTRIAL CENTERS AND LARGER CITIES, THE SHRINKAGE RUNS UP TO 15¢ AND HIGHER.

By agreeing to a 6c wage increase, Casey actually sought to negotiate a WAGE CUT for the Minneapolis drivers. Even with the 6c more hourly, the Minneapolis driver is much WORSE OFF today than he was one year ago.

Actually, the buying power of the dollar has shrunk considerably more than the Department of Labor will admit, the government statistics being notoriously weighted to conceal the truth about the skyrocketing cost of living.

What the Minneapolis drivers and allied workers need, what all workers today need, is a SUBSTANTIAL WAGE INCREASE to compensate for the huge profiteering of Big Business and to enable the workers and their families to maintain their standard of living.

Local 544-CIO is dedicated to the task of winning this substantial increase for the Minneapolis drivers.

Casey, acting for Tobin, tries to sell out the drivers and then he leaves town in a cloud of dust.

## Trial of 29 Set For October 20th

### Judge Joyce Overrules Demurrers—Defense Attorneys Protest Absence of Specific Charges

After a day and a half of argument by defense attorneys representing the sixteen leaders and members of the Motor Transport and Allied Workers Union Local 544-CIO, and the thirteen Socialist Workers Party members, Federal Judge Matthew M. Joyce overruled the demurrers to the indictments and set the trial of the defendants for October 20th.

Gilbert Carlson and David Shamus, representing the sixteen CIO defendants, associated themselves with the oral argument presented by attorneys Arthur LeSeuer and Albert Goldman, who represent the other thirteen defendants. They pointed out that the heavy volume of work created by the score of other indictments issued in the district courts against CIO members as well as the numerous hearings before the State and National Labor boards on the questions in the motor transport industry had prevented them from making the necessary preparation in the short period of time allotted.

#### No Definite Charges

Former Judge Arthur LeSeuer opened the argument against the indictment. "It is improper and unlawful to send these defendants to trial under this indictment," he charged, "because the indictment contains nothing but general and undefined charges of crime without any specific criminal acts being cited. Charges must be definitely enough stated so that defendants may be enabled to prepare a proper defense."

Pointing to the fact that the indictment contained no charges against any of the twenty-nine individual defendants, he asked that the judge dismiss the indictment. He insisted that each defendant had a legal right to be told in the indictment of the charges against him as an individual. No showing was made in the indictment of a single definite act committed by a single individual, he contended and therefore the general allegations of crime constitute an illegal blanket indictment of the twenty-nine.

#### Violates Constitution

Albert Goldman, himself a defendant, next took up the attack on the indictment. Of the two counts against the 29 defendants, one was based on the old espionage act passed in Civil War days of 1861, and the other on the Smith act passed in 1940, Goldman said. He argued that the Smith act violated the first Amendment of the United States Constitution, guaranteeing the right of free speech.

A citation of an opinion by Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes, who held in 1919 that the free speech right might be curtailed or even revoked "in time of clear and present danger" does not apply in this case, since no such danger now exists," Goldman asserted.

#### ACLU Represented

Vincent Johnson, a Minneapolis attorney representing the American Civil Liberties Union also argued against the constitutionality of the Smith Act. Johnson is not one of the defendants' attorneys but entered the case because the American Civil Liberties Union

seeks the repeal of the Smith Act and regards this as a test case. Arguing that both the indictment and the statutes under which they are drawn are valid, Victor E. Anderson, United States District Attorney, contended that legislatures had the right to protect the public from "seditious utterances." He challenged the argument of the defense attorneys that the indictments were not valid because they did not contain definite charges of crime against the defendants and said that these would be brought out in court at the trial.

#### Tobin Behind Case

In the rebuttal testimony, Albert Goldman pointed out that it was common knowledge that the attack on the defendants, particularly those associated with 544-CIO had originated in Washington, D. C. "The indictments brought against these defendants," said Goldman, "represents the payment of a political debt which Roosevelt owed Tobin. The conspiracy Act has been on the statute books since 1861. Why did the government wait to prosecute the defendants until 544 went to the CIO?"

He attributed the vagueness of the indictment to the fact that it was drummed up hurriedly so as to enable the government to intervene in the struggle between the AFL and the CIO in the Minneapolis motor transport industry. He charged further that there were no specific allegations of crime in the indictment because the government has no specific evidence of any crime, but is trying to indict 29 people under a blanket charge of "criminal conspiracy."

Judge Joyce upheld the district attorney and overruled the demurrers to the indictment. He also turned down a request of the defense attorneys that they be granted at least three months for the preparation of the case and set the trial for October 20th.

"I've had a wonderful evening," said Groucho Marx as he was leaving a dull Hollywood party, "but this wasn't it."

Washington: the only place where sound travels faster than light.—C. V. R. THOMPSON.

THE POT VISITS THE KETTLE When Mussolini first met Hitler face to face, he remarked to his followers: "That man's face is a disgrace to Europe."

By all means marry. If you get a good wife, you will become very happy; if you get a bad one, you will become a philosopher — and that is good for any man.—SOCRATES.

"War in my hands is the antidote to anarchy."—NAPOLEON.

It is great cleverness to know how to conceal one's cleverness.—LA ROCHEFOUCAULD.

Revive the Spirit of 1934

### Warren Billings Joins Fight

## Famed Martyr Is Supporting Move To Defend the 29

### Leading Writers in Nation Join Defense Committee—Point Out That This Prosecution Is Unprecedented in United States—Send Out Emergency Appeal for Funds

Warren K. Billings, famed labor martyr who, with Tom Mooney, spent 22 years in prison as a result of a frame-up engineered by the bosses during the First World War, has joined the San Francisco branch of the Civil Rights Defense Committee which is conducting a nationwide campaign in labor and liberal circles for the 29 defendants indicted in Minneapolis in connection with Tobin's fight against Local 544-CIO.

National chairman of the Civil Rights Defense Committee is James T. Farrell, well-known author of "Studs Lonigan" and other novels.

Carlo Tresca, active for many decades in the labor movement and editor of an Italian workers' paper in New York, is vice-chairman of the Committee. Another vice-chairman is John Dos Passos, liberal author.

Clarence Rust, West Coast labor attorney, has also joined the Committee. George Novack is acting secretary of the Civil Rights Defense Committee, with headquarters at Room 809, 160 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

The American Civil Liberties Union is cooperating with the Civil Rights Defense Committee in defense of the 29 victims of the federal prosecution. Roger Baldwin, director of the ACLU and long-time fighter for civil liberties in America, has been extremely active in behalf of the defendants. Mr. Baldwin will speak in Minneapolis later this fall.

#### Appeal for Aid

An emergency appeal for funds has been sent this week to liberals and unions throughout the nation by the Civil Rights Defense Committee. Signing it are James T. Farrell, Carlo Tresca, John Dos Passos, Margaret de Silver, and Charles R. Walker. Walker is author of "American City," the book dealing with the Minneapolis drivers' strikes in 1934.

Below is the text of the appeal, which is also endorsed by the American Civil Liberties Union:

"The most sweeping attack upon civil liberties and labor's rights in many years is the Federal indictment in Minnesota of 29 people—members of the Socialist Workers Party and the leaders of Motor Transport Drivers and Allied Workers Industrial Union Local 544-CIO.

#### Is New in United States

"THIS PROSECUTION IS DOUBLY UNPRECEDENTED. Never before in peacetime has the Government invoked statutes punishing the mere expression of opinion as it is doing with the Socialist Workers Party. Nor have the Federal authorities ever so flagrantly intervened in a trade union dispute by instituting criminal proceedings against the members of one labor

organization, the CIO, on behalf of another, the AFL.

"The indictment mentions no overt act to substantiate its charge of 'seditious conspiracy' except the ridiculous assertion that a Union Defense Guard, organized three years ago to protect Local 544 against Silver Shirt gangs, was 'designed to overthrow the Government.'

"The prosecution has been vigorously condemned by the CIO, Labor's Non-Partisan League, the United Auto Workers, the American Civil Liberties Union, the Nation, the New Republic and other leading labor and liberal spokesmen.

"The Civil Rights Defense Committee, which is directing the general defense in this case, has already, together with the national CIO, provided bail and counsel for the defendants. It requires \$7,500 to pay for bail premium, legal expenses and publicity. It must provide for 29 defendants during a trial of several months.

"The Federal prosecutors, anxious to obtain speedy convictions, have demanded trial early in October. The defendants have only a few weeks to prepare their case and rally public support. They need help—and need it quickly.

"We urge you to aid the defendants by contributing—promptly and generously—to their defense fund. Make all checks payable to the Civil Rights Defense Committee, 160 Fifth Avenue, New York City."

The tough guy rushed into the saloon, shooting right and left, yelling, "All you dirty skunks get out of here."

The customers fled in a hail of bullets—all except an Englishman, who stood at the bar calmly finishing his drink. "Well?" snapped the tough guy, flourishing his gun. "Well," remarked the Englishman, "there certainly were a lot of them, weren't there?" — TIT BITS.

"Congress is so strange," reported Boris Marshakov, the Russian actor and dramatic coach, after a visit to the spectators' gallery of the House of Representatives. "A man gets up to speak and says nothing. Nobody listens — and then everybody disagrees." — LEONARD LYONS.

A man may be so totally lost to hope that he will refuse to believe he can ever do anything, but few ever get so far down that they can't imagine a woman might be in love with them. H. L. DAVIS.

They've been treating me like one of the family, and I've stood it as long as I can."—UNCLE WALTER'S DOG HOUSE.

"My greatest ambition," said the actor, "is to be able to afford to live the way I do."

## Railroad Strike Far Off; CIO Charters Rail Union

Members of both the operating and non-operating railroad brotherhoods have voted by more than 95 per cent in favor of strike action to enforce their demands for increased wages—but nobody is excited about the strike vote. Though September 15th was set as the date for a strike, this is only part of the farce whereby the railroad workers are tied up in the involved machinery of the reactionary railroad labor disputes act.

Actually months will pass before the railroad workers will be free to fight for their demands.

The President of the United States will now appoint a committee to investigate and report on the merits of the case. Then will come a truce of thirty days until the committee reports its findings, followed by another thirty-day truce. It is extremely doubtful if the present dispute will ever come to the state of strike. What is much more likely is that the bosses and the reactionary craft-union heads of the railroad brotherhoods will agree to some compromise at the expense of the workers.

#### CIO Charters Rail Workers

The nation's railroad workers are today hopelessly divided into twenty-one separate unions. Under the impetus of the war, a number of young workers have come into the industry during the past year, and a real stir is taking

## Tobin's Pals Lead Fight On Labor

The fact that the spearhead of the anti-labor drive in Congress consists of Democrats, generally from the poll-tax South, is driven home in the recent issue of Labor, national railroad weekly. Under the heading "Democrats Lead Anti-Labor Fight," the union paper has this to say in its editorial:

"Those Democrats who are interested in the future of their party should examine the roll-call vote in the House on the Conally-May anti-union amendments to the Selective Service Act. PRACTICALLY EVERY VOTE CAST IN FAVOR OF SHACKLING LABOR WAS RECORDED BY A DEMOCRAT, GENERALLY FROM THE SOUTH.

"Is it necessary to remind Democrats that the spectacular victories they have achieved in the last 10 or 12 years have been made possible by the marvelous support they have received from the industrial workers of the nation? Mr. Roosevelt would not now be in the White House if labor in the cities had not stood by him when other groups grew cool or ran away.

"Nevertheless, we find many Democrats in Congress waging war on labor unions and clamoring for restrictions so drastic that even 'Old Guard' Republicans cannot stomach them. Are these reactionary Democrats more interested in the applause of 'sweat shop' bosses back home than they are in the future success of their party?"

So long as organized labor tags around the old boss parties, either Republican or Democrat, it can expect to be kicked in the face. Labor will never be respected until it forms an independent national labor party of its own.

Never has work been so prolonged, so exhausting, so injurious to man's body and so fatal to his intelligence. Never has the industrial labor which undermines health, shortens life and starves the intellect been so general, been imposed on such ever-growing masses of laborers. The men, women and children of the proletariat are bent under the iron yoke of machine industry. Poverty is their reward when they work, starvation when they lose their jobs.

In former stages of society, famine appeared only when the earth refused her harvests. In capitalist society, famine sits at the hearth of the working class when granaries and cellars burst with the fruits of the earth, and when the market is gorged with the products of industry.

All the toil, all the production, all the suffering of the working class has served to heighten its physical and mental distitution, to drag it down from poverty to wretchedness.

Capitalism, controlling the means of production and directing the social and political life of a century of science and industry, has become bankrupt. The capitalists have not even proved competent, like the owners of chattel slaves, to guarantee to their toilers the work to provide their livelihood; capitalism massacred them when they dared to demand the right to work—a slave's right.—PAUL LA FARGUE, THE BANKRUPTCY OF CAPITALISM.

In the constitution of the American Federation of Labor, founded in direct opposition to the "solidarity of the whole working class," care was taken to exclude the possibility of democratic control. The individual worker was not allowed to become a member of the AFL directly in his own person, but was merely to be represented in it indirectly through his union, the latter in turn, with certain exceptions, to enjoy a voting power in proportion to the per capita taxes paid in to the Federation, the wealthier unions, which were able and willing to pay additional taxes above the actual membership, being permitted in practice to exercise the additional voting power thus obtained. This, together with other gerrymandering measures, made it possible, in 1919, according to the estimate of the American Labor Year Book, for 65 out of 577 delegates to control 14.17ths of the total vote. Alexander Hamilton would have loved the constitution of the American Federation of Labor. — ERNEST SUTHERLAND BATES.

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# Industrial Organizer

Published every Thursday under the auspices of  
Local 544, CIO

OFFICE OF PUBLICATION, 1328 2ND ST. N.

One year in advance \$1.50  
Six months in advance .85  
Bundle copies (10 copy minimum) .62 1/2

Entered as second-class matter July 17, 1941, at the post  
office at Minneapolis, Minnesota, under the Act of March 3, 1879.

Business Manager DANIEL BURKE Editor MILES B. DUNN

## Tobin, Green, Woll and Sam Levy

(Continued from page 1)

involved in negotiations, you read that "Sam Levy, attorney for the company," announced this and that.

"Sam Levy, attorney for the company." To the union worker who has been through the mill, that name again being put forward boldly by the employers of this city means a great deal.

It tells us that the employers are once again on the offensive against organized labor. It tells us that the false front of the Associated Industries is falling away to reveal a return to the ruthless and oppressive policies of the Citizens Alliance, which has always been the real power behind the Associated Industries. It tells us that tomorrow every worker, every union, will be the object of assault from the bosses.

Five years ago, one year ago, the bosses would not dare put forward the hated union-wrecker, Sam Levy, as their attorney. Today they arrogantly flaunt Levy in the faces of the workers. The bosses are seizing the opportunity created for them by Tobin to advance vigorously against the unions.

### Tobin Broadens His Attack

It is not enough for Tobin to confine himself to striking heavy blows at the drivers. He must also vent his spleen on the Minneapolis union movement that has cooperated so closely with Local 544 throughout the years. He has therefore taken the lead to demand of the AFL Executive Council that it move to crush every semblance of militancy in the ranks of the entire Minneapolis AFL movement. The fact that he has been unable to crush Local 544-CIO has infuriated Tobin's bilious mind against all honest and progressive workers in the ranks of the Minneapolis AFL movement who oppose his criminal policy. Tobin found a willing audience in William Green, Woll, Hutchison, Frey and their ilk in the leadership of the AFL.

AFL President William Green announced Monday in St. Paul that the Woll Committee, appointed by the AFL Executive Council to purge the Minneapolis Central Labor Union, will arrive within the week to begin its dirty job. You can be sure that the various AFL International Unions who sent special agents here to assist Tobin's carpetbaggers and the bosses when Tobin launched his attack on 544-CIO, will now send new swarms of their own carpetbaggers in to aid the Woll Committee.

The AFL Restaurant Workers Local 458 is already getting a preview of what is in store not only for the Central Labor Union but for the various AFL local unions here.

Back in 1924, the year Green succeeded Gompers as AFL president, the American Federation of Labor conducted another purge of the Minneapolis Central Labor Union, just like that purge being prepared today by Tobin, Green and Woll. It was from that date that the Citizens Alliance rose to its cruel and oppressive position of power from which it dictated the conditions of suffering and want under which the workers and their families were compelled to eke out their miserable existence.

Neither Green, nor Woll, nor Tobin, smashed the rule of the Citizens Alliance in 1934. It was the militant truck drivers, fighting with the support of the entire rank and file of the local trade union movement, who performed that progressive task.

### They Aid the Citizens Alliance

In that struggle, Tobin and Green sought to help the bosses. Tobin publicly attacked the strikers and placed weapons in the hands of the Citizens Alliance. William Green sent his personal agent here, Paul Smith (the same person who conducted the purge of 1924) to try to split away a part of the Drivers Union right in the middle of the desperate struggle with the employers.

There is not a single case on record where Tobin, or Green or any part of the AFL Executive Council has ever done anything to help the Minneapolis workers. There are plenty of examples (and we have recited only a few) where these bureaucrats have acted AGAINST the Minneapolis workers and therefore in the interests of the employers. The 1941 Woll Committee is only the latest example of such anti-labor action.

When Green appeared Monday in St. Paul to speak to the convention of the AFL Bakers International, the boss press sent reporters to inquire when the Woll Committee was coming here to get to work. Green's reply that the Committee would be here this week was prominently featured in the evening papers. The bosses fully appreciate the value of the Woll Committee to them. They were anxious to reassure themselves that this valuable assistance would not be denied them. Green gave them that assurance.

The employers will accordingly prepare new measures against the workers. The employers are preparing to receive the Woll Committee with open arms. The union workers must immediately prepare their unions to receive the Woll Committee with the closed fist of union solidarity.

Local 544-CIO is again blazing a trail for the trade union workers of Minneapolis. It is fighting for trade union democracy, for the right to have a union that functions in the interests of the membership and that serves no other interests. Local 544-CIO is fighting to protect the rank and file workers against the dictatorial domination of labor fakers like Tobin, Green and Woll, who wallow in the luxury of their huge and wholly undeserved salaries mulcted from the workers. These labor fakers use their high trade union offices only to hinder and obstruct

## CIO Will Do the Negotiating!



the efforts of the rank and file to struggle against the employers and their Sam Levys.

### The Issue Can't Be Dodged

No trade union and no trade union worker can stand on the sidelines in this fight. The issue is trade union democracy versus dictatorship. The issue is being forced upon not only the motor transport drivers, but upon the union workers of Minneapolis, but upon the rank and file workers of the entire nation. Minneapolis is only the initial battleground in this spreading struggle.

Support Local 544-CIO. Condemn Tobin and Green for their anti-labor conduct. Prepare your unions to resist the dictatorial assault of the Woll Committee. Struggle for trade union democracy, for the right of the workers to organize in unions of their own choosing, and for the right to conduct that organization in their own interests.

## A New Brand of Soft Soap

Numerous Minneapolis motor transport drivers and warehousemen inform us that the Tobin carpetbaggers and Quislings have now adopted a new "line" in an effort to win the workers back into Tobin's craft-union set-up.

"It's all Casey's fault," the hopheads are now telling the Minneapolis drivers. "Casey signed those sell-out agreements and then skipped town. But don't worry. We'll never let Casey come back to Minneapolis again. And two years from now, we'll get decent contracts. Furthermore, did you know that Tobin is going to resign as head of the AFL Teamsters and let some new blood into the union?"

The hopheads then go on to praise the contracts signed a year ago by the real Local 544.

DON'T BE FOOLED BY THIS NEW LINE PUT OUT BY THE TOBIN HOPHEADS!

There is not ONE WORD OF TRUTH OR SINCERITY in what the Tobin machine tells you today, any more than there was yesterday when Casey tried to sell you down the river.

The ONLY PURPOSE of the new batch of lies peddled by Tobin's hopheads is to try to get you to lower your guard, to weaken your resistance to the Casey sell-out contracts.

If the Minneapolis drivers were to accept the Casey contracts, two years from now would be TOO LATE to fight for decent contracts. Between now and then the bosses would have used the Casey contracts to fire the best union men.

The rumor about the pending resignation of Tobin that the hopheads are spreading is likewise a lie. Tobin won't resign. He is too ambitious. He needs the power of his dictatorship over the AFL Teamsters to increase his prestige with the boss politicians. He needs his high post in the labor movement to qualify him for the position of secretary of labor, the post to which he has aspired for years.

Don't let the hopheads soft-soap you. Refuse to accept Casey's sellout contracts. Hang tough with your union, Local 544-CIO. Our fight for democratic industrial unionism can and will be won. Tobin's antiquated craft-union organization has only defeats and wage cuts to offer you. The road to victory lies through the CIO, through Local 544-CIO.

## Roosevelt's Slippery Slogan

President Woodrow Wilson, acting for Big Business, shoved the masses of the United States into the First World War with the slippery and lying slogan that it was a "war for democracy."

President Roosevelt, acting for Big Business, is preparing to take the masses of America into the Second World War with the equally oily and mendacious slogan that it is a war "for freedom of the seas."

Roosevelt's speech last Thursday evening was not a declaration of war. The anti-war sentiments of the American people still deter Washington from that final step. The speech, however, does set the stage for the rapid involvement of the United States in the war. American warships are now under orders to "shoot first" at Axis vessels, and the Commander-in-Chief of the U. S.

## Canadian Troops to Break Unions

Toronto—Use of federal troops against Canadian strikers was formally authorized in a recent order-in-council by the Canadian government. The order was similar to legislation which the Roosevelt administration is pushing in the U. S. Congress.

Under its terms the government may call out troops "to prevent or suppress riots, disturbances of the peace or other actions likely to impede or obstruct the products or delivery of munitions of war or supplies or the construction of defense projects."

A week before the new legislation was adopted, two companies of troops with machineguns and armored cars were sent to Arvida, Quebec, where workers at the Aluminum Company were on strike.

A few days later 250 soldiers, egged on by officers, made a "spontaneous" attack on pickets in front of the struck Hamilton Steel Car company, beating up strikers.

The Munitions Minister in Canada now describes all strikes as "cases of enemy sabotage."

### THE AFL OFFICIALDOM

"Most of them are prosperous-looking, Babbit-like, middle-aged or elderly men, well dressed, carefully barbered, fat-cheeked, double-and-triple chinched, vast belied, with gold watch chains across their paunches and stickpins in their ties. . . . They are, for the most part, presidents and vice presidents and chief organizers of the various national and international unions with salaries ranging from \$7,500 to \$20,000 per year and "expenses." . . . When they get together in their hotel rooms during conventions they talk of stocks and bonds and bear and bull market and short-selling, and compare notes on Buicks and Chryslers and on private schools for boys and girls." — LOUIS ADAMIC.

### CAPITALISM THE BIGGEST RACKET

Here are a few of the rackets the "Better Business Bureaus" have exposed and battled during the past quarter of a century. There have been stock swindles, real estate swindles, insurance swindles, and charity swindles; swindles in every conceivable type of merchandise from trucks to teakettles and pajamas, and in all manner of livestock and poultry; in cemeteries, factories, warehouses and boats; in employment, talent of all kinds, lotteries, oil, advertising, gas, steel and gold; there have been horse-chasers, hair-chasers, and spinner-chasers. There have been rackets in religion, philosophy, psychology, medicine, beauty, vanity, temperance and intemperance. And each day there are new ones around the corner.—E. J. ELLISON AND FRANK W. BROCK in "THE RUN FOR YOUR MONEY."

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If you are a subscriber your ad will be published here free of charge. Mail or phone the Industrial Organizer, 1328 Second St. N.

\$26.50—8 rms., 2 baths, 2 gas water heaters. Modern but heat. Long lot. Low taxes. Fine location. Good investment for working man. 2831 Polk st. NE.

3-PIECE oak bedroom set, Large Estate Heated. For sale. Call DR. 4610.

GIRL'S tan polo coat. Genuine camel hair. Size 14-16. Like new. Cost \$29.75. Will sell for \$17.50. Call AT. 4404. After 5 p. m. MA. 2010.

'36 Dodge coupe, excellent condition. Will sacrifice, \$325; '31 Chevrolet coupe, just overhauled. Sacrifice, \$60. '29 Ford roadster, good motor, \$30. Have taken these cars for money due me. Will take cheaper cars in trade. Forced to sell. Private party. 718 10th St. S., 2nd floor.

FINE level lot at 53rd and Knox Ave. N. Low taxes, clear title. \$175. Terms, \$10 down, \$10 per mo. Less for cash. Will take good used car for all or part. Owner 718 10th St. S., 2nd floor.

Navy will see to it that American ships are in such waters that they will confront Axis ships.

Just like Woodrow Wilson's fake slogans, Roosevelt's false slogans are designed to make the people forget that the Second World War, like the First World War, is an imperialist struggle to decide which power or combination of powers shall control the exploitation of the world's raw materials, markets, colonies, etc. When the United States goes to war against Germany it won't be because the vessel of one nation fired on that of another, it will be because American imperialism and German imperialism cannot live side by side in the world.

The war being instigated by Roosevelt and Big Business is not labor's war. Our war is right here at home, against the bosses and the native fascists.

## On the National Picket Line

Marvel Scholl

The new dynamic draftee army, into which tens of thousands of young men have been inducted, presents itself as a new and important problem for the American organized labor movement — a problem which up to now has been almost entirely neglected. The Army has changed in character from a small professional group into a tremendous body upon which all social changes reflect themselves immediately.

It has become increasingly clear during the past months that the government intends to use that new army for keeping down social unrest—strikes, etc., — at home as much as it intends to send the army into foreign parts for an aggressive war. The use of troops in the North American strike last spring demonstrated that clearly. And the intensive training now being given the draftees for "riot duty," with stress on strike situations, cannot be lightly cast aside as merely a regular part of army training. The continuous newspaper reports of desertions, shootings, court-martials, means only that the Army officialdom is having a time for itself in cramming down the throats of the selectees the idea that they should submit quietly to the bureaucratic and despotic rule of the officer caste.

And what has the labor movement, as such, done to forge the bonds between the worker-soldiers, and the farmer-soldiers, who are faced with all of the problems which sudden transfer from civilian life, into Army life has brought upon them? What did the organized labor movement, as such, do to fight the extension of the draftee service, the agitation for increased wages for the soldiers?

William Green, president of the AFL, spoke out on the question. . . . BUT HE PUT THE AFL STAMP OF APPROVAL ON THE EXTENSION OF THE DRAFT.

Will the hundreds of thousands of young soldiers whose only desire right now is to get out of the Army thank Green for his stand? On the contrary, this betrayal can only react against the entire labor movement in the hectic days to come. The soldiers are not going to forget that it was the "highest" labor representative of the AFL who put his stamp of approval on their further service.

And this plays directly into the hands of the government in its plans to use the army against striking workers. Further, Green's action will serve to make the soldiers passive in regard to labor, if not downright hostile. The boss propaganda against strikers, calling them subversive, unpatriotic, greedy will fall on ever more fertile grounds. The contrast, cleverly drawn in all propaganda, picturing the soldiers as self-sacrificing, willing to serve their government in time of need for a miserly wage of \$21 a month, to give up their lives to protect "our way of life," as against the "greedy" strikers who demand ever more concessions, who hold up vital war materials," cannot help but return blows for the bosses and their government.

Some unions have covered up their lack of any real program for the soldiers' problems by making public contributions to the United Service Organization. This does not solve anything. The USO, supported by the government, the Navy and the Army, is an organization designed to give entertainment to the soldiers in their off-time. This, if it were as innocent as it is made to appear, might be a good thing. But the public acknowledgement of the low morale of the army is in itself

the clue to the drastic need for something to lull the soldiers to sleep, to keep them "entertained" so that they will forget their grievances."

And an occasional public display, by a well chosen labor leader, of a contribution to the USO, does not serve as anything but window dressing. Further it serves to impress the soldiers with the close tie-up between the official leadership of the trade unions and the government.

The draftees, while they might enjoy some entertainment, want other, and much more concrete solutions to their problems. For instance, they want to get out of the army at the end of their year's service. And they want more money. They hate and despise the officer caste which rules over them. They want something to say about their own lives, in the army and out. They want adequate training in modern military methods, if they must be in the army. They recognize that they are going to be sent somewhere to fight and realizing this, they don't want to die needlessly because they don't know how to fight.

These are all just demands. Demands which the labor movement could take up and fight for. A concerted fight against the extension of the draft would have welded a bond, between the selectee army and the labor movement.

A militant fight to increase the wages of the soldiers, to bring them up to the trade union levels, would spike the guns of the propagandists who use that theme "look what you are doing for \$21 a month," to the draftees, against strikers, and would make it ten times harder for the army to whip up mob spirit against strikers.

Agitation by the labor movement for full democratic rights for the draftees would further strengthen the bonds between these soldiers who themselves are only a few months away from civilian life. As it is now composed, the officer caste holds complete control over the lives of the soldiers. These drafted men want the right to say what shall happen to them. They want officers who are chosen from among themselves, who value the lives of their charges and will fight to protect them. They want officers who understand the problems of modern warfare and who are not just reserve officers from the ROTC with a minimum of training themselves. They want officers who are trained in special officers training camps, financed by the government, but under trade union control.

No one but a fool can still believe that in this epoch of total war, big business in the U. S. will stand idly by while the other powers divide up the world and its markets. The soldiers in the draftee army recognize that they are going to be precipitated very shortly into a shooting war. They do not believe in the "holy crusade" aspect of the war which Roosevelt has tried to impose on the public mind.

It is high time for the organized labor movement to wake up to the fact that the problems facing the draftee army are our problems; that during this next crucial period, it can be decided whether or not these soldiers will throw their weight on the side of the labor movement in its fight to maintain and improve conditions of the laboring class, or whether, through our own neglect, that huge dynamic force will lend itself entirely to the government's purpose of nullifying and liquidating the labor movement.

Therefore let us demand that that army be trained, under trade union control, financed by the government; that that army be led by officers, trained in special camps financed by the government but under trade union control; that those officers be chosen from among the men themselves; and further, that the wages paid soldiers be on the same level as the wages they earned in industry.

## UNION MEETING SCHEDULE Motor Transport and Allied Workers Industrial Union Local 544-CIO

SEPTEMBER MEETING SCHEDULE  
Monday, September 1—Labor Day  
Wednesday, September 3—Sausage, Petroleum  
Thursday, September 4—Greenhouse, Independent Truck Owners  
Friday, September 5—Job Stewards  
Monday, September 8—General Membership  
Tuesday, September 9—Lumber  
Wednesday, September 10—Market, Wholesale Liquor  
Friday, September 12—Wholesale Grocery  
Sunday, September 14—Over-the-road, city pickup, dockmen and road drivers who come under the area contract, 2 p. m.  
Monday, September 15—Furniture Stores, Coal, Paper and Printing

Thursday, September 18—Tent and Awning; Newspaper, 10 a. m.  
Friday, September 19—Job Stewards  
Monday, September 22—Spring Water  
Tuesday, September 23—Building Material  
Thursday, September 25—Transfer and Warehouse; Wholesale Drug  
Friday, September 26—Cold Storage and Produce  
Seniority Committee meets each Tuesday at 7 p. m. Grievance Committee meets each Tuesday and Friday at 7 p. m. All regular meetings start at 8 p. m. unless otherwise indicated.  
Ice Drivers—2nd Monday, September 8th, Day Laborers  
Warehousemen—2nd Tuesday, September 9th, Stewards, 4th Monday, September 22